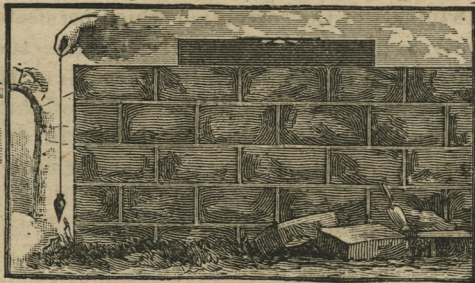


THE PLOWSHARE



INDICATOR OF COMMERCIAL EQUATION.

Vol. II. No. 23.

CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 8, 1894.

\$1.00 per Year.

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KORESH, FOUNDER AND EDITOR.

"Thrice is he arm'd, that hath his quarrel just;
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Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF VICTORIA GRATIA.

Communism Vs. the Competitive System.

There are a few simple principles lying at the foundation of social and moral life, which operate either for or against the general or vidual welfare. They comprise the foundation stones of the systems and forms of order or disorder into which bodies of men enter for the purpose of self-defense, for national existence, and for aggressive and accumulative general and extended dominion. In what are denominated the ordinary forms of civilized government, the systems have become so much involved, and are so complicated with the intricacies of legal and other technicalities, that the machinery of government has passed beyond the aspect of common apprehension.

There are two distinct phases of human impulse, both of which are universal in the scope of their application, and diametric and antagonistic in character; only one of which can be successfully operative at a time. One or the other of these must ultimately prevail. One is founded upon the eternal law of justice, authorized by Jehovah God, and verified

in the life of the Lord Jesus Christ in his application of the communistic order of social and national existence. The other is hell-generated, and is the system now universally practiced by "civilized" Paganism, which, though called Christian, has not the first element of that spirit which, when operative nearly nineteen hundred years ago, moved all who came under its influence to sell all their possessions and bring the prices of the things they sold to the common treasury, where all, under the same vine and fig-tree, might share equally in the wise provisions of a beneficent Creator.

In considering two systems so completely at variance as are the communistic and the competitive, we are applying the principles of analysis and synthesis to formulas which do not possess one single principle in common with each other. The laws which govern the one cannot enter into the formula of the other. The attempts at political and social reform are destitute of that analytical and differential acumen, in which is discrimination of so radical a character as to expugnate all the elements of the one aspect of formulative arrangement from the opposing system. It must be Christianity or Paganism; communism (all things common) or individualism,—every man for himself, though he impoverish his neighbor in his greed to accumulate wealth. Reformers do not get far enough away from the prevailing system of church and state. The annihilation of the old is the thing needed.

Production and distribution should be so economized as to provide for every person in a great commonwealth as easily as a parent provides for his family, when blessed with abundance. The process is simple enough when human avarice is destroyed. This part of the process will come easily when the fruitage of the Christian age reaches its maturity. The world has waited and groaned for deliverance, and the day of deliverance dawns. Yet a little while and the kingdom of righteousness will be inaugurated!

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The present widespread agitation of the purity question is thrusting upon even the most conservative a realization of the awfulness of the corruption which permeates the public and private life of the nation. Daily, more and more startling are the facts brought to light regarding the deplorable moral conditions obtaining in these end of the century days. One after another, Stead, Parkhurst, B. O. Flower, and others, are thrusting in their sticks and stirring up the filthy pool of modern civilization, and the resulting stench is filling even the most carefully held noses. Until a comparatively recent date, this pool was covered over with a nice green scum, which fairly simulated healthy verdure if one did not examine it too closely, the more easily as there was no healthy verdure near, with which to draw comparisons; but even those who recognized its true character hesitated to disturb it, for they suspected the truth, that to break up that surface would be to send rolling up the thick odors of almost inconceivable corruption, which that green surface was trying its best to hold under; and they did not dare. Occasionally, an accumulation of moral carbureted hydrogen gas would break through and cause for a time a vague, uneasy questioning as to how much more of that might be in process of generation in the same depths; but the surface would soon close over again, and once more all would appear fair and sweet to the careless observers. But the corruption below was steadily increasing in geometrical progression, and the breaking through of foul gases occurred with ever increasing frequency; until at last has come the determination to disturb that deceptive surface, and agitate the depths below to ascertain how much of foulness they hold.

Ugh! the horror of what is being brought up for discussion! The widespread gambling; the prevalence of drunkenness among men, women, and children; the intemperance and impurity among students of the most honored seats of learning; the existence of thousands and thousands of prostitutes in the large cities; the appalling murder and suicide statistics; the bribery among public officials of every class; the moral leprosy among the people's representatives at the state and national capitals; the sexual outrages upon women; the inhuman outrages upon children; the sexual immorality among children not yet in their teens! Ever and anon is raised the cry, "Eureka!" when one or other of the investigators thinks he has discovered the cause of all this foulness—or at least one of the causes. Among the causes mentioned are "Ignorance," "Early Environment," "Prenatal Influence," "Hereditary Influence," "Unequal Suffrage," "The Age of Consent Laws," "The Double Standard of Morals." But thrust down still deeper, friends; you have not yet touched the root cause! While all these are immediate causes of various forms of evil, you have not yet discovered the more remote cause of these causes; and unless you do, you cannot hope to put an end to the generation of evil.

All the evils rampant today may be traced back through many lesser generating ganglions of evil to the one central evil upon which all depend, and that is the prostitution of woman's procreative function, through masculine sexual dominance. From this springs masculine social and political dominance, with all the evils which must result from the unbalanced condition produced by male usurpation of the feminine functions of government in any domain. Consider the most interesting of all social phenomena—that of courtship and marriage—and what do you observe? Before a woman has given herself finally to the man who woos her, she is to him a goddess; the moment she has given herself, she becomes a slave,—meekly submissive or wildly rebellious, or any of the degrees between these two, as the case may be,—but still a slave. What though the chains be golden, are they any the less chains for that? This slave—yea, this

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So far, good enough. Law is the vital principle of society, yet society must make no law by which a freeman, in exercising his rights, may lawfully trample upon the equal rights of others, is in brief the statement of the Professor. He says further:—

The highest type of commonwealth * * * is that in which the rule of men is wholly supplanted by the government of law in the sense, first, that no authority is possessed by the rulers except as organs of the law. Second, that all members of the commonwealth are equally and absolutely subject to the law. * * * For more than a century it has been the proudest boast of Americans that the United States is a commonwealth of this type. This is fast becoming a thing of the past, and will soon be entirely so, unless the people finally awake to the fact, that organized labor is declaring a war to the knife upon the central principle of the government of law.

The central principle of government, as deduced from the above, is to protect every man in his rights. That organized labor wars against that principle when it forcibly prevents workmen from exercising their right to hire to whomsoever they will, is true. And in so far they are working for the overthrow of society. But why stop here as though organized labor were the only force at work to abrogate human rights, and undermine the vital principle of society?

Arrayed against organized labor, what do we see but organized capital? How is it that the good Professor sees nothing warlike but *organized labor*? Which of these began first to disregard the rights of freemen? Capital. Which has gone furthest in this lawlessness? Capital. Which gets all the blame for the present social upheaval? Labor. Why? Because what has been done, has been done under cover of laws capital has contrived in order to deceive the people,—laws which are opposed to the spirit of the commonwealth. Capital has manipulated the people's affairs to the advancement of private interests; yet it has so worked under the guise of advancement of the dear people's interest, that

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it has no blame attached to its skirts. The dear people are beginning to see how they have been hoodwinked; labor has organized and is working, wisely or unwisely, to wrest some of its usurped rights from capital. What capital has done stealthily and hypocritically by wholesale, labor is doing feebly in retaliation and desperation. Then capitalists preach law and order; the government—which their plunder has bought—comes to their rescue and defense, and capital usurpation of rights is upheld while labor usurpation of rights is put down.

Injustice is injustice whether perpetrated by capital or labor, and injustice by either is subversive of the vital principle of government. But why, with his professed love for truthfulness, Professor Von Holst should only point to organized labor as menacing the social unity, is a little hard to see. Can it be that he is blind on the side of capitalistic shortcomings?

Many people apparently think that there is no more sacred duty than to preserve law and order. They do not solve the mystery of how the present law and order got here; by whose agency, good or bad; by open consent of the people or by deceiving them; by desire for the good of the commonwealth or for good of the private bank account. They take it for granted that law is law and must be obeyed, no matter how it came. They do not see that preservation of human rights is the most sacred duty to be maintained. They do not see that human rights and true law are in harmony; that law which perverts these rights is not constitutional or legal and must, necessarily, of its own workings, overthrow *all* law and order. To get down to bedrock facts, it is the *unconstitutional legal enactments of capital* that threaten to submerge this commonwealth in social ruin.

Professor Von Holst should look a little further back of the efforts of labor organizations for the causes of danger to vital principles of government. He must look back to the causes of labor organizations themselves. They have been the sequence rather than the cause, and the *end* or result will be as he predicts,—the overthrow of the commonwealth.

This end seems inevitable, not so much on account of the attitude of labor as that of capital. There is a way of settling the question,—that is, by legal and peaceable repeal of unconstitutional laws, and by enactment of others, just and legal, in the interest of the people. But is any one so innocent of the ways of men in power, that he would for an instant suppose capital would sit by and see its plunder legally voted to the commonwealth (where it belongs), and its methods of robbery declared illegal, null and void; and its power slipping from its grasp? Rather would capital war to the knife and to the entire overthrow of the republic, than give up its usurped rights and stolen wealth. And in so doing it would unblushingly demand the support of all good citizens on the plea of maintaining "law and order"; the law and order which they have set up.

In the role of guardian and administrator of the public weal; avenger of insulted law and justice (?); arraigner and punisher of presumptuous labor organizers, and shining example of civilization and progress,—capital poses *par excellence*. Nevertheless, beneath the robes of splendor the forked tail and cloven hoof will peep out.

Truth says that capital is first-cause and brother-sinner with labor in the work of overthrowing the commonwealth.
—Alice Fox Miller.

History in every age, shows that as long as man is the cruel, selfish being that he now is, mere legal enactments forbidding usury—the great and effectual destroyer of liberty—will never bring it to an end. Governmental provision must be made, rendering it impossible, or the idea of justice among men, secured by law, must be entirely abandoned.—O. F. L.

Report of the Strike Commission.

President Cleveland appointed Carroll D. Wright (U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics), Congressman John D. Kernan, of New York, and Nicholas B. Worthington, of Illinois, a commission to investigate the great strike in connection with the Pullman trouble.

Of the association of general managers of the twenty-four railroads centering in Chicago (whose acts—in reducing wages, refusing arbitration, importing laborers to take the places of strikers, and putting forth other acts, legal and illegal, to defeat and destroy the American Railway Union—the commission holds responsible for the strike), this report says:—

It is admitted that the action of the association has great weight with outside lines, and thus tends to establish one uniform scale throughout the country. The further single step of admitting lines not running into Chicago to membership would certainly have the effect of combining all railroads in wage conventions against all employees thereon.

The commission questions whether any legal authority, statutory or otherwise, can be found to justify the features of the association which have come to light in the investigation. If we regard its practical workings, rather than its professions, as expressed in its constitution, the General Managers' Association has no more standing in law than the old trunk line pool. It cannot incorporate, because railroad charters do not authorize roads to form corporations or associations, to fix rates for services and wages, nor to force their acceptance not to battle with strikers. It is usurpation of power not granted. If such an association is necessary from a business or economic standpoint, the right to form and maintain it must come from the state that granted its charter. In theory, corporations are limited to the powers granted either directly or by clear inference. We do not think the power has been granted in either way in this case. The association is an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly-devised plan of corporations to overreach their limitations, and to usurp, indirectly, powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislatures. An extension of this association, as above suggested, and the proposed legalization of "pooling" would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties, as well as to employees and their rights. The question would then certainly arise as to which shall control, the Government or the railroads. And the end would inevitably be government ownership. Unless ready for that result and all it implies, the Government must restrain corporations within the law, and prevent them forming unlawful and dangerous combinations. At least, so long as railroads are thus permitted to combine to fix wages, and for their joint protection, it would be rank injustice to deny the right of all labor upon railroads to unite for similar purposes.

It should be noted that until the railroads set the example, a general union of railroad employees was never attempted. The unions had not gone beyond enlisting the men upon different systems in separate trade organizations. These neutralize and check each other to some extent, and have no such scope or capacity for good or evil as is possible under the universal combination idea inaugurated by the railroads, and followed by the American Railway Union. The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when you consider its standing before the law, its assumptions and its past, and obviously contemplated future, action.

Unlike the pulpit utterance of David Swing, this candid and fair report highly commends the conduct of the strikers at Pullman, in language as follows:—

The strike occurred on May 11, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4, 300 strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretense. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent new comers from taking strikers' places by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these guards.

The strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3 no extraordinary

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This end seems inevitable, not so much on account of the attitude of labor as that of capital. There is a way of settling the question,—that is, by legal and peaceable repeal of unconstitutional laws, and by enactment of others, just and legal, in the interest of the people. But is any one so innocent of the ways of men in power, that he would for an instant suppose capital would sit by and see its plunder legally voted to the commonwealth (where it belongs), and its methods of robbery declared illegal, null and void; and its power slipping from its grasp? Rather would capital war to the knife and to the entire overthrow of the republic, than give up its usurped rights and stolen wealth. And in so doing it would unblushingly demand the support of all good citizens on the plea of maintaining "law and order"; the law and order which they have set up.

In the role of guardian and administrator of the public weal; avenger of insulted law and justice (?); arraigner and punisher of presumptuous labor organizers, and shining example of civilization and progress,—capital poses *par excellence*. Nevertheless, beneath the robes of splendor the forked tail and cloven hoof will peep out.

Truth says that capital is first-cause and brother-sinner with labor in the work of overthrowing the commonwealth.
—Alice Fox Miller.

History in every age, shows that as long as man is the cruel, selfish being that he now is, mere legal enactments forbidding usury—the great and effectual destroyer of liberty—will never bring it to an end. Governmental provision must be made, rendering it impossible, or the idea of justice among men, secured by law, must be entirely abandoned.—O. F. L.

Report of the Strike Commission.

President Cleveland appointed Carroll D. Wright (U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics), Congressman John D. Kernan, of New York, and Nicholas B. Worthington, of Illinois, a commission to investigate the great strike in connection with the Pullman trouble.

Of the association of general managers of the twenty-four railroads centering in Chicago (whose acts—in reducing wages, refusing arbitration, importing laborers to take the places of strikers, and putting forth other acts, legal and illegal, to defeat and destroy the American Railway Union—the commission holds responsible for the strike), this report says:—

It is admitted that the action of the association has great weight with outside lines, and thus tends to establish one uniform scale throughout the country. The further single step of admitting lines not running into Chicago to membership would certainly have the effect of combining all railroads in wage conventions against all employees thereon.

The commission questions whether any legal authority, statutory or otherwise, can be found to justify the features of the association which have come to light in the investigation. If we regard its practical workings, rather than its professions, as expressed in its constitution, the General Managers' Association has no more standing in law than the old trunk line pool. It cannot incorporate, because railroad charters do not authorize roads to form corporations or associations, to fix rates for services and wages, nor to force their acceptance not to battle with strikers. It is usurpation of power not granted. If such an association is necessary from a business or economic standpoint, the right to form and maintain it must come from the state that granted its charter. In theory, corporations are limited to the powers granted either directly or by clear inference. We do not think the power has been granted in either way in this case. The association is an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly-devised plan of corporations to overreach their limitations, and to usurp, indirectly, powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislatures. An extension of this association, as above suggested, and the proposed legalization of "pooling" would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties, as well as to employees and their rights. The question would then certainly arise as to which shall control, the Government or the railroads. And the end would inevitably be government ownership. Unless ready for that result and all it implies, the Government must restrain corporations within the law, and prevent them forming unlawful and dangerous combinations. At least, so long as railroads are thus permitted to combine to fix wages, and for their joint protection, it would be rank injustice to deny the right of all labor upon railroads to unite for similar purposes.

It should be noted that until the railroads set the example, a general union of railroad employees was never attempted. The unions had not gone beyond enlisting the men upon different systems in separate trade organizations. These neutralize and check each other to some extent, and have no such scope or capacity for good or evil as is possible under the universal combination idea inaugurated by the railroads, and followed by the American Railway Union. The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when you consider its standing before the law, its assumptions and its past, and obviously contemplated future, action.

Unlike the pulpit utterance of David Swing, this candid and fair report highly commends the conduct of the strikers at Pullman, in language as follows:—

The strike occurred on May 11, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4, 300 strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretense. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent new comers from taking strikers' places by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these guards.

The strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3 no extraordinary

protection was had from the police or military agents against any disorder. Such dignified, manly, and conservative conduct in the midst of excitement and threatened starvation is worthy of the highest type of American citizenship, and with prudence in all other directions will result in due time in the lawful and orderly redress of labor wrongs. To deny this is to forswear patriotism and to declare this Government and its people a failure.

Responsibility for the suffering, privations, and murder resulting from the great strike, the report lays at the doors of Pullman and the illegal Managers' Association, as follows:—

It is apparent that the readiness to strike sympathetically was promoted by the disturbed and apprehensive condition of railroad employees, resulting from the wage reductions on different lines, blacklisting, etc., and from the recent growth of the General Managers' Association, which seemed a menace. It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from "persuading" each other in industrial or other matters of common interest. However, it is generally recognized among good citizens that the mandate of a court is to be obeyed until it is modified and corrected by the court that issued it.

The policy, the report says, of both the Pullman Company and the Railway Managers' Association in reference to applications to arbitrate, closed the door to all attempts at conciliation and settlement of differences. The commission is impressed with the belief, by the evidence and by the attendant circumstances as disclosed, that a different policy would have prevented the loss of life and great loss of property and wages occasioned by the strike.

The report says that many impartial observers are coming to the conclusion that much of the responsibility for labor disorders rests with the people themselves, and with the Government for not equally controlling monopolies and corporations, and for failing to protect, reasonably, the rights of labor, and redress its wrongs. It recommends that it be made the duty of some existing tribunal, or commission to be created, to compel railroads and other employers to arbitrate differences arising between them and their employees. It advises that contracts (required to be signed by employees) not to join, or belong to, trade unions, be declared illegal, and that labor unions be recognized, protected, and regulated by law, equally with combinations of employers. It sharply condemns the suicidal policy of the Government in allowing this illegal body of General Managers to choose 3600 deputy U. S. Marshals from its favored employees, and permitting them freely to exercise government authority while acting, not under a U. S. officer, but under the direction of the illegal body which caused them to be chosen. Of the Pullman Palace Car Co., the report says:—

This is a corporation organized in 1867, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has grown until its present paid-up capital is \$35,000,000. Its prosperity has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay twenty-six per cent quarterly dividends, and in addition to lay up a surplus of nearly \$25,000,000 of undivided profits.

Of course it receives with allowance the professions of such an unconscionable thief of the avails of other men's labor, that it is run in the interests of laboring men.

As was to be expected, a subsidized monopolistic press sneers at, and abuses, this commission and its able and impartial report, but a candid and just public sentiment cannot do otherwise than heartily approve of it, as one of the few indications of a returning sense of justice to the laboring poor.—O. F. L.

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The Law of Retribution.

Human government, like divine, must of necessity have its penalties for violated law. The noble decision of the people for better government, national, state and city, would quickly appear as empty as a Pope's bull against the comet if it did not bring punishment for those who dishonored themselves and their country by abuse of their trust. And the penalty, to be effective, must be of a kind which the offender can feel. The most conspicuous and powerful offender in national matters is the Sugar Trust. This law-defying combination is clearly responsible for the worst disgrace that has ever fallen upon an American Congress. By corrupt means, in order to plunder the people of many millions for its own enrichment, it secured the passage of a revenue bill disastrous to American industry, and dishonorable to the party in power, which so shamefully failed to provide for the expenditures of Government that the Treasury has just been obliged to borrow \$50,000,000, and to fasten upon the people for ten years a charge of \$2,500,000 yearly. The insolent dictation of the trust, and its shameful methods, which the courts are still trying to investigate, kindled the just indignation of nearly all upright members of Congress. But now this same monopoly attempts to coerce the same Congress by closing its refineries in the dead of winter and depriving many thousand men of livelihood. It is only justice that the first and heaviest blow of retribution should fall upon a corporation which has thus dishonored legislation and affronted public opinion, and that it should come from the very Congress which yielded to its threats and seductions.—*New York Tribune.*

It is very refreshing and highly encouraging to find the press awakening to the fact that fraud, intrigue, and all sorts of baseness are practiced in the great system of monopoly. But why is it that people only tackle now and then some particular combination or trust, venting their spleen on it, but allowing others to go unrecognized? The system of monopoly from one end to the other is a system of theft. The sugar trust is no worse than the vinegar trust, or the whisky trust, or any other trust that monopolizes the manufacture and sale of any given article of commerce. Any trust will plunder the people for its own enrichment; it matters not who suffers disgrace at its hands, or how many may be doomed to fill paupers' graves. If a legislation will permit such base outrages, it can attain to no greater dishonor than it already bears, and the public sentiment that will justify such legislation is equally base, and equally culpable.

The world needs to awake to the fact that retribution will fall upon the right parties at last, let them endeavor as they will to put off the evil hour; for the divine law is paramount to the debased national law. There is a divine law, "Thou shalt not steal." The national law parades the same words upon its statutes, and its officials bravely come to the front, with great parade of justice, and incarcerate a poor beggar if he is found stealing a loaf of bread to keep from starving; but a hundred rich men, more or less, may combine and and steal the pennies from a dead workingman's eyes, and the officials will smile and call them sharp financiers, provided they put the pennies out at a high rate of usury and monopolize the business, to make it honorable. The legislature of this country is no better than any other combination. Instead of being a sugar, whisky, or cotton, trust, it is a man trust; and every device is used to make, change, or twist the laws that they may serve to protect the unscrupulous capitalist in whatever machinations he may undertake, provided he will pay enough boodle into the hands of the equally unscrupulous law-makers.

The tariff tinkering has caused the people to suffer incalculable loss, and the honored (?) head of our Government still advises a little more manipulation, a little more soft solder to patch up the leakages in the governmental coffers, for a deficit of \$20,000,000 is appalling. Individual interest is the most vital question of the hour, and lest there should be a long list of political obituaries a great effort will be made to span the deep, dark, national abyss by taxing the people, even for the air they breathe, providing it is not laden with all the foul odors of the ring that holds the controlling

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power; and even now, "The beggar is taxed for a corner to die in."

The basis upon which the capitalist builds his schemes for more riches is competition and monopoly. It is the principle of getting the most money out of the least capital, a system of binding the laborer hand and foot with a rope, each strand of which bears the brand of MONOPOLY. It is a system of fraud and robbery, a reign of terror in which the rich man drinks the wine from his own vintage, colored and enriched by the poor man's blood; but ere long that blood, like the blood of Abel, will cry from the ground, proclaiming the guilt of the modern Cain, who will snarl like his predecessor, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Retribution will surely come in due time, and the Almighty will not mince matters very much when he establishes a power in earth that will shake the monopolistic cur till there is nothing left of him but his bark. Money is made by law and it will vanish with the law that makes it, because it is the iniquitous basis of all business transaction. It is a false, unjust measure of value; it is the infernal machine by which injustice is perpetrated; it is the key-note of our country's despair, wailing out its doom. Retribution will come, not by human laws, but through a divine interposition,—not an earthquake, or a landslide; men's hearts will fail them, and there will be a mighty overturning of affairs. It is already marked throughout the land, and the press is teeming with sounds of reformation in which a just sentence is often pronounced upon those guilty ones who stand at the bar of justice.

We are nearing the verge of a revolution. The whispered mutterings have broken forth into clamorous talk; hidden fires are burning brighter. The cry of the downtrodden and oppressed has reached the God of Sabaoth, and the time for the oppressor and tyrant to reap a just reward has come. All the pent up murmurings of the nation will resolve into a political hatred, and the fires of deep-seated passion will burn till the Government is destroyed and all its monopolies laid low; and upon these ruins will a higher and purer government be established.—*Mary Everts Daniels.*

A Step in the Right Direction.

French operatives are manufacturing Gobelin tapestry in New York. The superintendent says the dyeing—the success of which turns largely upon the quality of the water used—can be brought to as great perfection in America as in France. This industry, though locally an infant, is progressing satisfactorily, and a wealthy Chicago lady is said to be interested in promoting it to the end that it yield employment to our work-women. In this art male weavers are exclusively employed in France; but while there is no reason why female weavers should not equal their brothers in this particular execution, there are some reasons why they should excel them.

Economy demands that every land under the sun—unless the interdict proceeds from climatic disqualification—should produce the necessities and luxuries demanded by its people; thus the energy exhausted in transshipping will bear fruit in the avenues of production, and with concomitant reforms will become the *sesame* by which the millions will bask in the luxuries now confined to the few.

Heaven haste the day when our land shall be dotted with the nuclei of industries hitherto foreign to us; when shiploads of artisans shall come to teach the perforce idle fingers the mysteries of handicrafts alien to us, for such means shall help to free our want-ridden people, and shall work out a condition antithetical to the one brought about by monopolists sending abroad their agents to bring to us the scum of Europe—a semi-barbarous horde who are at home in a hole in the ground, and who can fish a feast from somebody's garbage barrel. Such should not meet our people

in wage competition, but upon the basis of pupils to an advanced mode of life. Discreet paternalism exercised over the importation of these industrial teachers, and over industries new and old, would do more than will all the gold of foreign syndicates used in planting towns among us, or in buying up our best paying industries. Let us have imported the higher class of artisan who will aid in the building of a refuge for the ignorant and oppressed; then when the suffering ones come we can lift them from degradation. A few decades more of the present system and our American laborers will be glad to seek shelter in caves in the rocks and holes in the ground. Haste the day when "a sovereign people" will cease to be the empty, high-sounding phrase of demagoguery!—*A. T. Potter.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR PRUNING HOOK:—I will try and gather a few items of interest, though not being an expert in that line, I shall, no doubt, fail to accomplish the best results. The election, the greatest sensation of the season, has passed with a result most unexpected to all parties. Such a complete somersault in politics is renewed evidence of the dissatisfaction existing among the people, and an equally strong indication of their lack of knowledge of the needed remedy. We have, as you have seen, a Democratic governor and supreme judge, all the other offices being filled by Republicans or those affiliated with them. This result is incomprehensible even to the victorious party, which was not prepared for such an entire reversal of former conditions. But one victory for the people has been achieved. We have, at last, a mayor fully committed to war upon the encroachments of the railroad monopoly. With an able, fearless man, of fortune large enough to be a guarantee of his independence in that position, the people feel themselves justified in the hope of an administration in their interest rather than that of their whilom masters. Adolph Sutro is one of our few public-spirited men. All eastern visitors are familiar with the beautiful grounds at the cliff, always open to the public, but his vast library—accumulated at great expense and only awaiting the erection of a suitable building for its accommodation—also destined for the use of our citizens, is perhaps not so well known. These, with the great baths recently completed, would far exceed the record of any of our prominent men. He now proposes to erect a grand hotel at the ocean, and his railroad, the projection of which compelled the concession of the five cent fare to the beach, is now in process of building. The great need for an energetic and honest man at the head of affairs will be seen when it is known that our present faulty and imperfect system (?) of sewerage has cost the citizens \$30,000,000, the annual expenditure being still about \$1,500,000. A great part of this work is worse than useless and must be done over again, at enormous cost. One improvement has recently been inaugurated, viz., the street cleaning by men, instead of with machine sweepers which have been stirring up the dirt and carrying away a minimum of it for years past. The increased cleanliness and comfort on the streets included in the new regime is a shining illustration of what can be done in the way of reform when private citizens interest themselves sufficiently to work for their accomplishment. One firm of merchants has been the active agent in this work, having through its efforts enlisted the co-operation of sufficient property-holders to enable the work to be experimentally undertaken. The result is eminently satisfactory. By the way, I see by Kate Field's *Washington* that there is some possibility of the street cleaning department of New York being given into the charge of a woman as its head. I am afraid this is too good to be true, but should it be the case, a new era would certainly dawn for New York. The capacity of women for economical administration has been demonstrated in too

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in wage competition, but upon the basis of pupils to an advanced mode of life. Discreet paternalism exercised over the importation of these industrial teachers, and over industries new and old, would do more than will all the gold of foreign syndicates used in planting towns among us, or in buying up our best paying industries. Let us have imported the higher class of artisan who will aid in the building of a refuge for the ignorant and oppressed; then when the suffering ones come we can lift them from degradation. A few decades more of the present system and our American laborers will be glad to seek shelter in caves in the rocks and holes in the ground. Haste the day when "a sovereign people" will cease to be the empty, high-sounding phrase of demagoguery!—*A. T. Potter.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR PRUNING HOOK:—I will try and gather a few items of interest, though not being an expert in that line, I shall, no doubt, fail to accomplish the best results. The election, the greatest sensation of the season, has passed with a result most unexpected to all parties. Such a complete somersault in politics is renewed evidence of the dissatisfaction existing among the people, and an equally strong indication of their lack of knowledge of the needed remedy. We have, as you have seen, a Democratic governor and supreme judge, all the other offices being filled by Republicans or those affiliated with them. This result is incomprehensible even to the victorious party, which was not prepared for such an entire reversal of former conditions. But one victory for the people has been achieved. We have, at last, a mayor fully committed to war upon the encroachments of the railroad monopoly. With an able, fearless man, of fortune large enough to be a guarantee of his independence in that position, the people feel themselves justified in the hope of an administration in their interest rather than that of their whilom masters. Adolph Sutro is one of our few public-spirited men. All eastern visitors are familiar with the beautiful grounds at the cliff, always open to the public, but his vast library—accumulated at great expense and only awaiting the erection of a suitable building for its accommodation—also destined for the use of our citizens, is perhaps not so well known. These, with the great baths recently completed, would far exceed the record of any of our prominent men. He now proposes to erect a grand hotel at the ocean, and his railroad, the projection of which compelled the concession of the five cent fare to the beach, is now in process of building. The great need for an energetic and honest man at the head of affairs will be seen when it is known that our present faulty and imperfect system (?) of sewerage has cost the citizens \$30,000,000, the annual expenditure being still about \$1,500,000. A great part of this work is worse than useless and must be done over again, at enormous cost. One improvement has recently been inaugurated, viz., the street cleaning by men, instead of with machine sweepers which have been stirring up the dirt and carrying away a minimum of it for years past. The increased cleanliness and comfort on the streets included in the new regime is a shining illustration of what can be done in the way of reform when private citizens interest themselves sufficiently to work for their accomplishment. One firm of merchants has been the active agent in this work, having through its efforts enlisted the co-operation of sufficient property-holders to enable the work to be experimentally undertaken. The result is eminently satisfactory. By the way, I see by Kate Field's *Washington* that there is some possibility of the street cleaning department of New York being given into the charge of a woman as its head. I am afraid this is too good to be true, but should it be the case, a new era would certainly dawn for New York. The capacity of women for economical administration has been demonstrated in too

many households to be a matter of doubt, and, as Kate Field says,—“If you want to make a woman happy, give her a specified sum of money and let her show what can be done with it.” It will be difficult for the masculine successors to keep within the lines she will establish. Other departments of municipal life would be much more honestly and economically administered with no loss of efficiency if the labors were shared by women, notably that of education. I hope ere long to see the Boards of Education constituted of equal numbers of men and women.

Our public library has recently sustained a serious loss in the call of our librarian, John Vance Cheney, to your great library. Such mischances are not infrequent occurrences with us. Our able men are not sufficiently appreciated to be held here, so we cannot complain, even if we do suffer from the outcome. You have also drawn from our University some of our most promising men, Professor Barnard among others. Chicago is wide-awake and liberal enough to secure what she wishes, regardless of cost; a lesson not yet learned by California, with all her reputation for generosity and extravagance.

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I find more and more people looking toward the time when money shall be abolished, and an equitable exchange substituted for it; although they are not working with us, our Master has said that they “who are not against us are for us,” and no doubt when the time comes we shall all be united in the grand work, and share in the blessing.

The *Examiner* has inaugurated another of the good works for which it has become justly celebrated. This is to be an institution for children who are the victims of incurable diseases. Annie Laurie's pungent and pathetic pen first opened the eyes of the public to the necessity, and the response has been immediate and generous. Scheel is to give a benefit with his glorious band. Among other projects, the issuing of the Christmas edition of the *Examiner* is to be given entirely into the charge of a certain number of society leaders, who will act as editors, etc. This will, no doubt, realize quite a sum for the fund, that issue being immense and very profitable. So you see that we are not hard-hearted, only somewhat self-centered and needing to have our attention somewhat sharply called to the necessity for action. I hear that a Labor Exchange has been organized in this city, the last week, by the society with which your old associate, Carl Gleaser, is connected. We shall probably hear from it before long, through antagonism if in no other way. Something must be done to awaken the attention of the people, and the pioneers will bear the ridicule and obloquy incident to all new departures in the interests of humanity.

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A Government of Injunction.

A century ago, Thomas Jefferson, that farseeing statesman who believed the people were capable of self-government, said that the federal judiciary of this country were the sappers and the miners that would steadily and stealthily undermine the foundations of the constitution; would gradually extend their own jurisdiction and absorb to themselves functions of government that did not belong to them. This has been steadily going on until we recently woke up and found that instead of having three departments of government,—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial,—and those of the people's own choosing, there was all at once in full operation entirely new machinery, an entirely new form of government never before witnessed anywhere else upon earth, and that is, government by injunctions, whereby a judge, not content with deciding disputes that are brought before him, not content with simply rendering decisions upon questions in litigation between man and man, and coming within the jurisdiction of federal courts, at once converts himself into an administrator, and undertakes to administer the affairs of the country; not content with the law as he finds it, as the legislative branch of the Government has given it to him, he proceeds to legislate himself. He issues a ukase against an entire community without notice, practically prohibiting the doing of anything that he sees proper to prohibit, and in case of the disregard of this ukase, or this injunction, he takes it upon himself to send men to prison, although they may have violated no statute and transgressed no law. Where the law forbids a thing, no injunction is necessary. The criminal court is the right tribunal to punish violation.

Injunctions were issued in the federal courts this year, forbidding the doing of things which the legislative power had not forbidden, making other things punishable by imprisonment which the legislative power said should be punishable only by fine, because they were trifling. Again, they deprived men of the right of trial by jury, when the legislative power and the constitution said they were entitled to trial by jury.

During the last summer, we had industrial disturbances which were ridiculously exaggerated in the newspapers. They were no greater than similar disturbances had been at Buffalo only about two years before, no greater than riots which occurred in Ohio, and not as bloody as numerous riots which had occurred in the State of Pennsylvania. It is true some railroad cars were destroyed by mobs, but this happened in the outlying switching yards on the edge of the prairies at Chicago. The great city itself, far from being endangered, as was maliciously reported, had no knowledge of any trouble except what it got from the newspapers.

The local authorities for a time believed themselves able to control the situation, and when they found they could not, they applied to the state for aid, and in a few hours after this application five regiments of state troops went on duty, and in forty hours after the state troops were put on the ground, all attempts at destruction of property ceased, and the rioting was practically over. The machinery created by law to deal with occasions of this kind was found to be ample and effective, and I want to say here that there is no government in the world more able to enforce the law and protect life and property than the government of Illinois. Its people are loyal and devoted, and half a million men would go forward in a few days, if necessary, to protect our institutions. In this case, all the men who had violated the law were promptly arrested and punished by the proper tribunals.

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I believe, with John Ruskin, that if the government can enlist, dress, ration, equip, and train men to destroy life and property, that it can enlist, dress, ration, equip, and train men to build houses and raise food and manufacture goods. I believe it would be more ennobling to do the latter than the former. I believe it would be productive of happiness instead of misery, of peace instead of war, of plenty instead of famine, and I know it would not cost the people of the nation as much, for the product of their labor would more than pay the cost, while the cost of an army as now organized does not produce a cent to pay its way—all its cost has to be borne by the people, who get nothing in return. If the Government has no right to do the latter, then it has no right to do the former. This latter would solve the labor troubles. If a man claimed he could not get work, we would know him to be an impostor. If he could not compete in the field of competition he could co-operate under the guidance of the Government and not go crowding into the cities or tramping over the country. Now he is forced to by necessity, then he would not be. Such enlistment would of course be voluntary. Why is it not tried? Because every employer, every man or corporation making money out of the sweat of wage slaves, opposes it because their business would be gone. Government employ would produce without interest, rent, or taxes on the masses, and the employees would receive so much for their labor that no private employer could keep help, and he himself would have to work for a living instead of having others work for his living as is now the case. That is the reason the problem of the unemployed is not solved in this and every other nation on the earth. The workers would then not be mere slaves for the enrichment of a few lords and ladies, untitled though they be. Then the laborer would get the retail price of the products of his hands and brain—now he does not. Then he would have some "incentive" to labor, now he has not—only necessity. Then he would be safe in his home from any Shylock or schemer—now he is not. Then he would be a factor in his government—now he is only a tool for monopoly. Then he would lose no sleep, not make life a living nightmare about what would become of his children—now he does. Then he would not be worked like a horse—now he is. Then he would be provided out of his own labor with ennobling pleasures and time to enjoy them—now he is not. Then he would be enjoying socialism—now he is suffering anarchy.—*Coming Nation.*

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